

WORKERS' AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL. 3, No. 18.

NEW YORK, N. Y., OCTOBER 15, 1934.

PRICE 5 CENTS

The Spanish Revolution And Its Lessons

Broadest United Front Led Workers Revolt
by Bertram D. Wolfe

As we go to press the Spanish proletariat, judging from meager government-censored cable dispatches, seems to be fighting a losing battle. Its defeat would mark the end of the brief bourgeois-democratic republic of 1931 and the assumption of direct power by the Jesuit leader G. Robles and his Catholic-clerical bands. Behind him stand the big industrialists, the great landlords, the Catholic clergy, the Catholic student groups, the corps of higher army officials, the Fascist organizations of the "gilded youth," the decadent nobility, the monarchists of all shades of "legitimacy"—the whole consolidated band of uniformed cowled—hooded—black-shirted reaction, elevated into unstable power on the blood-stained bayonets of the pretorian Guardia Civil (Civil Guard), Guardias de Asalto (shock troop guard), secret police, and "Republican" army.

The Spanish Proletariat Is Not "Finished."

The heroic Spanish proletariat seems to be defeated, but assuredly it is not decisively crushed. The general strike, crumbling in many places, is still on. The embattled miners still hold large areas of rugged Asturias and are performing exploits of epic proportions as they repulse attack after attack of the whole luxurious apparatus of airplanes, cannons, gas bombs, machine guns, tanks of the consolidated military forces of "Republican" Spain. A class that fights in that fashion, that shows such unity welded in the battle's fire, such heroism and such comprehension of its historic role, can be defeated, but it cannot so easily be completely crushed. It has met its "July days" or at worst its "1905".**

Germany, Austria, Spain!

Germany, Austria, Spain! A rising curve of militancy and unity. In Germany, thanks to Social-Democratic treachery and Communist tactical incompetence, a defeat without a struggle—a crushing blow from which the working class has not yet recovered.

In Austria, the same elements of treachery and sterile impotence, but a last minute, rather, a "zero hour" correction forced by the masses on the Social-Democracy and on the Communist Party, result in a heroic rear guard action and unification of Socialists and Communists in a common front forged in the fire of struggles. Hence, in place of a demoralized rout, an orderly, covered fighting retreat, with forces intact. Austrian fascism sits insecurely on its bayonets. The Austrian working class is uncowed. It is reorganizing its forces with great rapidity under a purified and corrected leadership. It will be heard from again in the not very distant future.

Responsibility Of Social Democracy

In Spain, too, the theory and practice of Social-Democracy pre-

* Temporary defeat of the Russian working class in July 1917.
** Date of the first Russian Revolution, which the defeated, proved a prelude to the second.
(Continued on Page 2)

Church Revolt Grows in Germany

Demonstrations Before Brown House

The revolt of the independent Protestant churches against Nazi coordination is assuming ever more serious proportions. In an effort to behead this church revolt, its leaders, Bishop Meiser was declared deposed and held a virtual prisoner. The answer to this act was a protest demonstration before the Brown House in Munich.

The rebellious church leaders refused to comply with the edict of the Nazi Reichsbishop Mueller, who had ordered all protesting church leaders to vacate their offices. Instead the deposed church dignitaries printed proclamations which were to have been distributed to all attending services. These were promptly confiscated by Nazi police. Despite the fact that congregations were sprinkled with Nazi spies, police and Brown Shirts, these proclamations were read from the pulpits.

The religious in form these mass protests against the Nazi murder regime are of great import as indicative of the widespread hostility to the Fascist regime. The church is the only field in which the process of coordination has lagged. It is therefore this medium which expresses the opposition of many social strata to Hitler's rule.

The increasingly difficult economic condition and the intensive organization of illegal trade unions creates the possibility that the suffering German masses will also come forward on the economic field, to voice their opposition to the Nazi regime.

IN THIS ISSUE

• **THREE STEPS FORWARD TWO STEPS BACKWARD**
by Bert Wolfe

• **TROTSKY'S ROAD TO SOCIAL DEMOCRACY**
by Will Herberg

CPG Sends Letter to Communist Opposition

Trade Union Pact Agreed Upon

Further steps towards cementing unity of action of the communist forces in Germany have just been taken. These are clearly indicated in an exchange of communications between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and the National Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition).

Immediately after the conference between these two organizations as presented in the last issue of Workers Age, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany wrote a letter to the CPGO. This is the first communication written by the Central Committee of the CPG to the CPGO on the basis of comrade to comrade. After enumerating a number of alleged "principle differences" which it declares it still has with the CPGO, the CC of the CPG hastens to assure the National Committee that its "representatives did not demand" a statement of capitulation "and were merely interested in trying to convince" the comrades of the CPGO that they adhere "to untenable political views."

The letter of the CC while clearly indicating that Communist unity is no immediate probability still declares its full agreement with our proposals that the units with the official CP remnants of the Social-Democratic groups, and the CPGO jointly build "illegal trade unions." It is interesting that this letter desists from the customary official CP slime and slander. Instead it even holds the fact that the CPGO recognizes the sincerity of the official CP proposals for united action. Thus the CC of the CPG underscores in its letter to the CPGO the following:

"And since you yourself state both orally and in written form that you are firmly convinced that our united front proposals to all anti-Fascist workers and working class groups within Germany are sincere—that these proposals are not maneuvers due to a turn in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as the Prague Social-Democratic (Continued on Page 2)

A. F. L. Meet Endorses Vertical Unionism

Executive Council Is Enlarged

Whether the famous "Frisco fog is thicker than 'Bill' Green's class collaboration policy is a matter of dispute. One thing is beyond dispute, however, despite the great defeats suffered by labor within the past few stormy months for which the A. F. of L. bureaucracy was largely responsible, no censure of their actions or battle against them found presence in the convention in any impressive or significant fashion. Two forward steps taken by the convention were the enlarging of the executive council and the decision to inaugurate industrial unionism. The last found recognition because sooner or later the pressure from the A. F. of L. ranks would force such action, and the realization of this fact would place Green & Co., in a bad position. Then too the big boys rallied under the standard of John L. Lewis were getting too strong to supply with additional ammunition in his battle against Green. It was largely through the efforts of this Lewis group, whose aspirations for dominance in the A. F. of L. are well known, that steps were taken to enlarge the executive council. These seven new vice presidential officers elected were: John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers of America; David Dubinsky, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; George L. Berry, Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; W. L. Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters; Edward J. Gainer, National Association of Letter Carriers; Harry Bates, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union, and Daniel J. Tobin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters. All the old members were re-elected. This break with the past is welcome for it allows more latitude to a great potential progressive movement in the Federation.

Opposition to the A. F. of L. old-guard was present however. Resolutions calling for a break with the old parties and placing the Federation on record for a Labor party was introduced by Hugo Ernst of the restaurant workers and others. Other resolutions calling for more militant policies were killed by the parliamentary trickery of the fat boys. So flagrant was this procedure that, the New York Times reported that the introducers of the resolutions which greeted the old "gag" game. But the forward steps taken such as vertical organization in mass industries, opposition to fascism, enlargement of the Executive Council, are more significant as straws in the wind indicating the beginning of an awakening in the ranks of the Federation, rather than a change of character on the part of the leadership. This convention epitomized the plight of organized American Labor, still too weak to smash a leadership which has repeatedly sold it out and throttled all possibilities for organizational extension and victorious action for higher standards of living.

Still chained to the Roosevelt chariot, the Green machine attempted to bolster faith in the Administration by having the convention adopt a series of demands to be proffered to the NRA. Pleas for class collaboration were long (Continued on Page 2)

Paterson Dyers In Strike Call

1500 Silk Workers Now On Strike

Paterson, N. J.

All negotiations, between the Dyers of Paterson and the manufacturers, have been broken off when the employers refused to renew the agreement which expires on October 25. The issue over which negotiations broke off was the provision on recognition of the union which the employers reject now.

The Dyers Union has announced that all preparations are being made to call out 25,000 dyers thus paralyzing the entire industry in Paterson.

About 1500 silk workers are now on strike as a result of the refusal of the silk bosses to recognize the union. The bosses, insisting that the agreement was abrogated when the Paterson silk workers walked out during the general textile strike, have opened a well organized drive to destroy the union conditions. The union's reply to these wage cuts, increase of machine load and refusal of recognition was a series of mill strikes.

At the same time Eli Keller, head of the Paterson silk union, who had been opposed to calling off the strike in Paterson, urged that only a national silk strike can stop the open shop drive of the employers. Telegrams to Gorman of the U.T.W. and President Green of the A. F. of L., were dispatched during the A. F. of L. convention asking for authorization of a general silk strike.

The Paterson silk workers, hard pressed for funds, have broadcast appeals to all trade unions and labor organizations. The U.T.W. as well as the New Jersey State Federation of Labor have endorsed this appeal.

All funds should be rushed to the American Federation of Silk Workers, Paterson District, Paterson, N. J.

Party Members, Please Comment

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The Communist, January 1929.

"What is the future of the A. F. of L. and the craft unions generally? Are they definitely in decline as labor organizations? This question of perspective of the A. F. of L. becomes very important because in it is involved the question of whether or not there is a real base for the development of the new industrial union movement

"The A. F. of L. is definitely in decline as a labor organization. It can not and will not organize the unorganized."

JAY LOVESTONE

Workers Age, May 14, 1932.

"There could be nothing more fatal to the American labor movement in general and to the revolutionary movement in particular than the illusion that the A. F. of L. can no longer grow The outlook is clearly for an ingress into the trade unions, for sharp class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions as well as organizations of sorely pressed unorganized. In the course of these struggles the unorganized are likely to pour into the unions, a decisive force, the leaven germinating a new spirit of struggle, militancy, and power in these organizations."

KUTNIK

The Communist International No. 18—September 20, 1934.

"The opinion which had existed that the A. F. of L. is as dead as a doornail, that it is losing its membership, that it will not organize the unskilled workers, that it does not penetrate into the basic branches of industry, and that, therefore, there is no need to reckon with it has resulted in a great deal of harm. Such views were at one time expressed among the revolutionary miners' union leaders (at the time when the U. M. W. A. had organized 85 per cent of the entire mining industry), in the textile workers' union and even in the steel union."

"WHAT NEXT IN SPAIN?"
Sunday Oct. 21, 8 p. m.—51 W. 14 St.

Bertram Wolfe

The Spanish Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

pared the defeat of the proletariat. It was the Socialist confidence in bourgeois democracy, the Socialist insistence on "constitutional legalism"—on playing the game according to the enemy's rules made so that the enemy cannot possibly lose—that prepared the blood bath thru which the Spanish proletariat, the Socialist workers more than others, are now wading. It was the Azana government of socialist-petty-bourgeois Republican collaboration which placed the present officers in charge of the army. It was the Azana government which not only failed to disarm but even strengthened the shock troops of reaction, the Guardia Civil and Guardias de Asalto. It was the coalition government with Largo Caballero as Minister of Labor that alienated the masses by employing censorship, outlawry, and Guardia Civil against strikes and peasant uprising. It was the Social-Democratic leaders that "persuaded" the peasants to leave the settlement of the land question to "constitutional and legal" measures, which left the big landowning class intact to form their armed, fascist bands and subsidize and engineer the counter-revolution that has now broken loose in Spain. Three years of Socialist coalition rule left the forces of reaction intact, its economic power undisturbed, its military-political apparatus actually strengthened, the problems of the Spanish Revolution unsolved, nay untouched, the masses bewildered, disoriented, disheartened, and largely alienated from the Republic and the leadership that had fulfilled none of the promises that the 1931 Revolution had made. Yet the Socialist youth, the Socialist masses, and at least one Socialist leader, Largo Caballero, had learnt something from the German and Austrian events. If in Germany the Socialist turn was made after the battle and in Austria at the very zero hour, in Spain it was made at the eleventh hour, just a little space before the Fascist-clerical reaction latched its attack.

Responsibility Of The Communist Party

If the Socialist Party did not learn from Germany and Austria till the eleventh hour, the Communist Party did not learn till a scant minute before midnight! If there is any country in the world where the impotent, self-defeating sectarian line of the Communist International has showed its bankruptcy most glaringly, it is Spain! So feeble was its connection with the masses that the Revolution of 1931 took it by surprise! When the great Socialist and Anarchist union federations with over a million members each swung into action, the Communist Party was again caught nodding over little play-toy red unions of its own! When the great left swing began in the ranks of the poverty-stricken, courageous, instinctively militant worker-peasant masses that make up the Spanish Socialist Party, the Communist Party busied itself sniping at the leftward-struggling Socialist movement, taking pot shots at a "cleanly" distance with an air rifle labelled "left social-fascism is the most dangerous form of social-fascism." The great uprising caught the still diminutive Communist Party debating whether or not it should relinquish its precious toy in favor of more effective weapons pointed in another direction.

When the Socialists, after a bitter internal fight, joined with the Communist Opposition (Maurin group) and Trotskyites (Nin group) which is now breaking with Trotsky on the question of entrance into the Social-Democracy in the Alianza Obrera, formed on Maurin's initiative in Catalonia, and when the Alianza spread like wild fire throughout the Republic and dragged in the Syndacatist as well as Socialist unions in all key places, the Communist Party again forgot capitalism and fascism in the zeal of a furious, impotent war of naughty names against the united front of the Spanish proletariat. It was these peculiar united front organs of the Spanish proletariat, local soviets on a Spanish scale, that led the general strike and uprising now in progress.

In the columns of the New Masses and the Daily Worker, and perhaps in Pravda and Izvestia, the Spanish Communist Party formed this united front and led the Spanish revolution. The painful fact is that our Party decided to enter the Alianza Obrera at a meeting of its Central Committee on September 11 and 12, 1934, almost a year after their initiation and less than three weeks before the revolution broke out! Party pamphlets were still on sale at the end of September, declaring the Alianza Obrera to be "the focal point of all reactionary forces" and the "holy alliance of the counter-revolution." The Party announced its decision publicly on September 15 and did not even have time to complete the "face-saving" negotiations for its entrance, when the general strike and armed uprising began. The Comintern change of line came too late. History had caught the bewildered party of sectarianism napping once more!

Character Of The Revolution

The Revolution was precipitated by the great bourgeoisie in attempting a "legal" transition to fascism. The Socialist petty-bourgeois coalition government established by the Revolution of 1931 with a Socialist majority in parliament and a Socialist minority in the cabinet (1), having failed to make good on any of the promises of the Revolution and having suppressed its further development by suasion moral and military, the masses became disoriented, disillusioned, passive, and in some sectors, a prey to reactionary demagoguery. Large sections turned to the Syndicalists but these had nothing to say on politics but "steer clear of it," "hear not, see not, speak not, touch not, think not" of the unclear abomination, a workers' government. Then the masses turned hopefully to Communism but the Party told them lots about Russia and Stalin and Social-Fascism, but no clear directions for the solution of their problems in Spain, so the party declined and the masses left it sitting like Jack Horner in the corner repeating "what a good boy am I."

An incomplete revolution either goes forward or backward. It cannot stand still. On November 20, 1933 the elections to the Cortes gave the opponents of the Republic a majority and the Socialist Party and petty bourgeois republicans went into the opposition. Then came press censorship (in less than a year more than 94 "denunciations" of El Socialista by the police), government-protection, armed fascist demonstrations, clerical demonstrations, attacks on labor organizations, hell let loose against the peasantry by the Guardia Civil. On the other front that on the eve of the Revolution included virtually all mass organizations and political groups in the country, (the anarchist leaders were still resisting the entrance of the Syndicalist Unions nationally and the official Communist Party was only swept in by the "new turn" in mid-September), and great general strikes with political aims in Madrid, Barcelona, Asturias. At the same time the petty-bourgeoisie prepared to take the field in defense of the Republic (this explains why many petty-bourgeois-minded leaders of the Social-Democracy finally went along with the Socialist youth and Socialist left) and their allies, the petty-bourgeois national autonomists of Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque provinces increased their resistance to the centralizing tendencies of the anti-republican reaction. On October 3, the Lerroux government was formed with Gil Robles and two other leaders of his clerical-fascist group as members. The answer of the Spanish proletariat was the general strike on Oct. 5, immediately followed by an armed uprising. The answer of the petty-bourgeoisie was a withdrawal from the Republic and a call to arms to save the Republic. The answer of the petty-bourgeois regional autonomists was the proclamation of a separate republic in Catalonia, ready to enter into a "Federation of Spanish Republics." Obviously, the success of the revolution would

VOTE COMMUNIST

Support the Communist Party in the coming election!

Vote Communist! The Communist Party, standing firmly on the foundations of revolutionary Marxism, is the only party representing the interests of the American workers and farmers. The Communist Party (Opposition) takes this occasion to point out to the workers of New York that it is fully behind the election campaign being waged by the Communist Party. While we have in the sharpest fashion fought against policies and practices of the official Party which have been and are today detrimental to its own advance and also of the class it represents, the basic principles upheld by the Communist Party are our principles as well. Because, the Communist Party is the only Party in the elections which is an

uncompromising foe of capitalism, do we call upon all workers to Vote Communist! The Communist Party, our Party, despite all its vicious ailments of yesterday and today, espouses those principles whose adoption by America's toiling millions is the sole guarantee for the end of wage slavery, must in this election campaign be supported by every militant worker. The Communist Party is the unrelenting foe of reformism and the parties of Capitalism. Your vote for Communism will indicate your determination to save the American workers from the menace of Fascism. The agents of Social Democracy, the Trotskyites, whether in or out of the 2nd International, are disseminating the filthiest falsehoods about the Communist Party in an effort to picture the Third International as bankrupt—no longer "a possible instrument to overthrow Capitalism." The issue in this election is clear: Communism versus Capitalism. The American "Trotskyites" tell us they prefer neither, as far as this election campaign is concerned!

Vote Communist: to register your recognition of the New Deal as an instrument of Wall Street; to register your determination to reject the suicidal road of Social-Democracy which leads to defeat before the Fascist horde, and to emulate the Russian workers whose road led to victory—to Communism.

C. P. G. Sends Letter To Communist Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

Party leadership maintains—we ask you to tell your followers in Germany to create a united trade union movement with our comrades in the interest of the proletariat for the joint overthrow of Hitler.

The extent to which the CPG has responded to the growing pressure of the working masses for proletarian unity against fascism is thus further reflected in this letter of September 18th:

"The CC of the CP is at all times ready to come to an agreement as far as problems of the future joint activities and problems of the trade union movement, as far as the establishment of united trade unions is concerned with all existing working class groups in the country who are willing to lead the struggle against fascism, in the spirit of a comradely discussion to the extent to which this is possible." In the forthcoming issue of the Workers Age we will present the reply of the National Committee of the CPGO.

A. F. of L. Meet Endorses Vertical Unionism

(Continued from Page 1)

and frequent. No radical departure from the past has emerged from this convention. The raw material meanwhile for a powerful progressive movement within the Federation accumulates. Here lies the hope of American trade unionism.

still leave the problem, "Kerensky government" or proletarian dictatorship to be fought out.

Perspectives

The Spanish proletariat has performed miracles of heroism. It is fighting for its life. It has shown unexampled unity and solidarity, the greatest united front of the workers since November 1917. But the revolution has also shown that even unity and heroism are not enough. Besides unity and heroism there must be centralized direction, competent planning, a genuine, realistic, mass revolutionary party of the proletariat. The false theories of the syndicalists, the belated and inadequate reform and petty-bourgeois confusion of the Socialist leadership, the sterile impotence of the official Communists, the theoretical weaknesses and lack of national strength of the Maurin group (it is a big mass force only in Catalonia) have provided the fatal defect in the Spanish revolution—lack of adequate clarity and leadership.

Yet, even if the revolution is suppressed, the proletariat will emerge undismayed, undemoralized, more united than ever, and more conscious of its tasks. The Spanish working class has not yet said its last word. In the meanwhile, it is our task to form a united front to defend it from the fury of Fascist terror if it is temporarily beaten. And to defend it against imperialist intervention if it wins.

Newark, N. J.
OPEN FORUM
LESSONS OF THE
TEXTILE STRIKE
Lecture by
B. HERMAN
Saturday, October 20, 8 P. M.
ST. REGIS HALL
7 Park Place
Newark, N. J.
Auspices: Newark Section
Communist Party (Opposition)

HARLEM INTER-RACIAL FORUM
207 WEST 137th STREET
New York City
Saturday Evenings at
8:30 P. M.

Saturday, October 20, 1934
GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
Well Know Worker and Lecturer
IS THE NEGRO GOING
FASCIST?

Saturday, October 27, 1934
WILL HERBERG
Editorial Board of the
"Worker's Age"
SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Saturday, November 3, 1934
V. F. CALVERTON
Author of "The Liberation of
American Literature"
THE PASSING OF THE
GODS
(The Future of Religion in
Modern Civilization)
ADMISSION FREE!

For
Breakfast
Lunch
Dinner
or a
Southern
Waffle
at
Midnite
Patronize
Bradley's
Cafeteria
6th Avenue
& 14th Street

4 & 5 Course
LUNCHEON 40 & 50c
6 Course
CHICKEN DINNER 60c
SPECIAL LUNCHEON 35c
SERVED ALL DAY
Spaghetti - Dessert - Coffee 35c
A La Carte All Day
GIUSTI'S
SPAGHETTI INN
WINE AND BEER SERVED
49 WEST 16th STREET
NEW YORK CITY

DELICIOUS FOOD?
GOOD SERVICE?
go to
Field's
RESTAURANT
523 Sixth Avenue
N. Y. C.

THE CHANGE IN COMINTERN TACTICS AND THE NEW
TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION
A Resolution of the National Bureau of the CPO presenting
the first analysis of the turn in the CI and its
significance to revolutionary workers.
Is printed only in the
The Road to Communism
A Quarterly of the International Labor Movement
The Fall Issue is just out Price 25 cents
Order from National Literature Dept., CPO
51 West 14th Street
New York City

Three Steps Forward — Two Steps Backward

by Bertram D. Wolfe

The Comintern Answers the International Communist Opposition

All party members and sympathizers should study the unsigned editorial article printed in No. 18 of the *Communist International* under the title "The Brandlerites and their Letter to the E.C.C.I." True, some of it is already outdated since it was written prior to the formation of a bloc between the German Communist Party and the German Communist Opposition. Yet it is a document of great importance for four reasons:

1. It is the first public document of the Communist International in six years addressed to the International Communist Opposition.

2. It is the first admission in any official organ of the Comintern that under certain circumstances co-operation is possible between the Communist Oppositions and the respective Communist parties.

3. It contains the first official declaration that under certain circumstances the re-admission of the sections of the International Communist Opposition into the Comintern is possible.

4. In many respects it is a model of how not to further such joint work and how not to bring about Communist unity.

"THREE STEPS FORWARD"

The petty misrepresentations that take up much of the article should not blind the readers to that which is new in it. The misrepresentations, the somewhat toned down, are "old stuff". But the article as a whole, is not "old stuff". And that which is new is of fundamental importance.

First: There is the declaration:

"The Communist Parties of Germany, France, U.S.A. and Switzerland will have no objections to the meetings proposed by Brandler."

Second: There is the suggestion that "the only thing that could bring useful results would be for each national group of the Brandlerite-Lovestoneite Association to apply to the C.C. of the corresponding Communist Party."

Third: Here is the recognition that "certain political prerequisites exist for negotiations on such (i.e. Communist) unity."

When we bear in mind that till recently the official parties and International would have no relations with the Opposition (except those involved in name-calling) no conferences, no united fronts, no debates or discussions, except where mass pressure occasionally forced such relations, then the above statements represent a startling change, three big steps forward.

WHAT HAS CAUSED THE CHANGE?

Under the irresistible pressure of events the Communist International has been forced to make a sharp turn in the direction of the trade union, united front, and mass work tactics advocated by the Communist Opposition. It becomes increasingly impossible to attack our policies as "counter-revolutionary" while the International is beginning to adopt many of those policies. It is increasingly impossible to keep on denouncing the Communist Opposition and at the same time reeducate the parties and to adopt the tactics for which that Opposition has been denounced. Nor is it any longer possible to maintain that these tactical proposals were departures from Communist fundamentals and differences "on principle" when the International itself adopts the proposals. In brief, the sectarian line of the past five or six years has

* Comrade Brandler had written to the Executive Committee of the Communist International on behalf of the International Communist Opposition proposing: (1) The admission of fraternal delegates from the Communist Opposition to the 7th World Congress; (2) Cooperation between official parties and Opposition in joint struggle; (3) Discussion of tactical differences with a view to eliminating them, if possible, and re-establishing Communist Unity. The letter requested conferences in each country, and, at the 7th World Congress, on an international scale.

proved disastrous, and piecemeal, hesitantly, imperfectly, it is being abandoned. And this inevitably involves a new attitude towards those who were expelled for rejecting that tactical line.

HOW NOT TO CORRECT MISTAKES

A party of democratic centralism cannot change its line without democratic discussion. A party that values the quality of its membership cannot change its line without the reeducation of the membership. A party that takes seriously its relation to the masses cannot change its line by diplomacy, conspiratively, behind the backs of the masses. A party that has alienated the organized workers by a union-splitting dual unionist policy, cannot regain their confidence without openly acknowledging its errors, openly announcing their abandonment, giving guarantees that they will not be repeated in the future. What is needed is an open declaration that the line is being changed, a genuine, democratic discussion preliminary to the 7th World Congress and party conventions, a serious attempt to reeducate party members and sympathizers, and an earnest effort to regain the confidence of those sections of the proletariat that have been alienated.

Unfortunately, instead of this, the editorial in the "Communist International" is concerned rather with the reputed Chinese diplomatic sport of "saving face."

It is "face-saving" that makes the editorial maintain that there is no change of line in the very article that gives numberless evidences of the change. It is "face-saving" that causes the editorial to maintain that the line has been right all of the past six years when it is necessary to educate the parties as to why it has been wrong and to convince the masses that the errors are recognized and are being corrected. Is it not high time to give some thought to the wise words of Lenin on the method of correcting mistakes?

"The attitude of a political party toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the party and of how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class and towards the toiling masses. To admit a mistake openly, to disclose its reasons, to analyse the conditions which gave rise to it, to study attentively the means of correcting it—these are signs of a serious party. . . ."

These words of Lenin are as true as ever and they make all such considerations as "face-saving" seem quite unworthy of a movement which takes seriously its connection with the masses.

A DISCUSSION NEEDS CLARITY

After refusing to discuss with us for six years, the article makes some attempt at discussion. This is to be welcomed. But a genuine discussion needs clarity. It is not helped by a deliberate confusion of the line of "the last six years" with the line of the sixth year, or of the past three months.

It does not help to clarify the actual tactical differences that still remain when artificially manufactured differences are fished out of the abandoned junk pile and trotted out again in their stead. What good purposes is served by exhibiting once more those hoary falsehoods and slanders that Brandler believed in the "peaceful growing into Socialism" or "worked for Social-Democracy" or that Lovestone "defended the bourgeois theory of American exceptionalism and prosperity" (!) and "was removed for introducing crooked commercial methods of unprincipled struggle into the party"? The disappearance of such words as "renegade" and "counter-revolutionist" is to be welcomed. But why, if mud-slinging is abandoned in its wholesale form, should it be continued in retail? It not only retards unity (how could our party accept an advocate of "crooked commercial methods" and still deserve the respect of the masses?) but, and this is more

serious, such juggling with the term "bourgeois exceptionalism" prevents the real discussion of our still existing differences on the question for which this slander term is a smoke screen, namely the question of mechanical transference of tactics from land to land without considering the concrete peculiarities of each country. Let us rather discuss this in earnest and unity and clarity will be furthered.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The Comintern is adopting a new attitude towards the Socialist Parties, proposing genuine united fronts (not merely pseudo united fronts "from below"), dropping the unhappy formulation of "social fascism" and adopting a comradely attitude towards Social-Democratic workers. All this we have been urging for years and we welcome its adoption. But what value is there in attacking us for having advocated what the parties are now doing and thus giving the Social-Democratic workers the impression that the new line is not sincere? Why construe our demands for united front and an effort to win the leftward moving socialist workers for Communism, in such terms as: "The Rights denied the necessity for a most determined struggle against the 'Left' wing of Social-Democracy"? And what good is served by the juggling in the very next line which smuggles in Otto Bauer for the leftward moving socialist workers? Who if not we have been carrying on the ideological fight these past five or six years against Austro-Marxism? And still worse, what purpose is served in the next sentence by the equivocal condemnation of the "united front from above"? Once more, face-saving and confusion in place of clarity and analytical discussion.

WHAT LINE DO WE SUPPORT?

The article informs us that the reunification we have been fighting for is possible. Quite properly it attempts to state the Comintern's demands and preliminary conditions in political terms. But again confusion in place of clarity. I quote from the editorial:

"The program, the chief decisions of the Communist Parties and the Comintern on tactics and principles, have been published. . . . tremendous importance is attached to the call of the E.C.C.I. on March 5, 1933, in connection with the united front, and its decision of April 1, 1933, regarding the situation in Germany. Do Brandler and Company accept these decisions? Do Brandler, Lovestone and Bringolf, each one individually, accept the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.? If Brandler and Co. desire unity with the Comintern . . . they must openly and publicly recognize the correctness of the Comintern, of its program, of the decisions of its Congresses, of its last decisions regarding the united front and on Germany, and its tactics and discipline."

A tall order! The program of the Comintern we have always accepted. We helped to draft it, have defended it at all times and never ceased to stand upon it. The united front call of the E.C.C.I. we hailed when it appeared, as the first big step away from sectarianism and back to a Leninist line on the united front. The discipline of the Comintern we have always been ready to accept provided only that it is based on genuine democratic centralism. But "the chief decisions on tactics" is another question.

Which tactics must we accept? The tactics of "united front from below only" or the united front tactics of today? The decisions based on the theory of "social fascism" or those based on the latest instructions of the Communist Party of Germany as to attitude toward the socialist workers? The tactics that split the trade unions and built the R.G.O., the T.U.U.L. and other such unfortunate federations of memberless unions? Or the tactical decisions that are dissolving the National Miners Union

and National Textile Union in America, and the Scottish Red Miners Union, and have led the German Communist Party to cooperate with us in building non-partisan underground class trade unions in Germany?

As to the Congresses and Plenums, which shall we accept, the decisions of the 6th World Congress, which was a transition and compromise congress or the decisions of the Tenth Plenum, which definitely rejected all the good and systematically raised all the bad in the 6th World Congress into a sectarian ultraleftist system? And can we both accept the tactical decisions of the Tenth Plenum on union-splitting, and the decisions of the Communist Parties of Austria, France, and Germany which begin to correct them and in many cases to interpret them out of existence?

As to the Thirteenth Plenum, does the editorial writer want us to accept all its decisions? Does he? Does the Comintern still accept all its decisions? The Thirteenth Plenum resolutions contain the formulation that:

"Social Democracy continues to be the MAIN social prop of capitalism even in countries of open fascist dictatorship."

Can we accept that? Do you accept it? It is true of most countries where bourgeois democracy prevails. It has never to date been true of the United States where the main social prop is the two-party system. It certainly cannot be squared in Germany with your invitation to the underground socialists to cooperate with you in a struggle against fascism.

There is Kuusinen's formulation at the 13th Plenum:

"Against Social Democracy, for the united front with the working masses."

Can we accept that? Do you?

At the 13th Plenum Weinstein's proposal for a federation of independent trade unions was approved. We cannot support that, and there can be no fundamental tactical agreement on trade union work in America so long as union-splitting continues. Even the dissolution of the T.U.U.L. unions is not enough. Our agreement, when it comes, must be for constructive trade union work, to build the mass unions, to strengthen them and to win them for progressive and militant policies, not to split them again at the next "opportunity."

Is it not clear that what is needed is not a wholesale endorsement of all tactical decisions good and bad alike, but an earnest review of all the decisions of the last six years, a genuine discussion and then an open correction of those that were erroneous and the consolidation of the correct tactics into a systematic tactical line by the 7th World Congress?

Your editorial says:

"If Brandler and Co. really intend to raise this question, why wait for the Seventh World Congress?"

Is this not rather frivolous and unworthy when we remember that our letter was written to the Comintern just before the 7th World Congress was postponed?

We desire unity, as we always have. And we desire the unity to be sound and the basis to be the healthy one of democratic centralism and a correct tactical line. But we welcome the postponement of the Seventh World Congress so that the possibility exists for clear, comradely discussion, for growing unity in joint work, for the restoration of inner party democracy, and for a genuine collective work of the parties and oppositions in the Seventh World Congress, which we hope will heal old wounds, correct old errors and forge an international unshakable in its unity, healthy in its inner life, collective in its leadership, and correct in its policies, an International equal to its mighty tasks.

Editor's Note:—In the next issue Comrade Wolfe will conclude his comment on the article in No. 18 of the *Communist International* by a discussion of "Discipline and Democratic Centralism."

Knitgoods Union Sets Up Educational Dep't

The Joint Council of Knitgoods Workers Union, of which Louis Nelson is General Manager, has established an educational department for its members. The aim of the educational department is to develop among the Union members, through lectures, classes and literature a union consciousness, loyal and intelligent support of the union and an understanding of the problems confronting the work-

ers in the knitgoods industry and in the general labor movement.

A central school will be started at the Union Headquarters, 28 Graham Avenue, Brooklyn. At this school, there will be classes in American History and Elements of Unionism to be given every Monday evening. In addition, classes in Music and Dramatics

will be organized. It is also planned to conduct a regular weekly forum at which prominent leaders in the labor field will lecture on various aspects of the labor movement.

For the convenience of the members who cannot attend the central school, courses in American History, Unionism and English will

be given in neighborhood schools in various parts of the city. There will also be organized gymnasium and swimming classes for men and women.

All classes, lectures and instruction will be provided free of charge to union members. The Educational Department is headed by Albert Bell, Director.

Tucker P. Smith

NEW DEAL AND AMERICAN LABOR
Sun, Oct. 28, 8 p.m.—51 W. 14 St.

JOIN THE CPO—

JAY LOVESTONE
51 West 14th St.
New York City

Please send information about the CPO to

Name

Address

City

Trotsky's Road to Social Democracy

"Left" Opposition Embraces Second International

by Will Herberg

Fourth International—
Stepping Stone to Second

History has a reputation for playing strange tricks but surely no turn of events was ever so startling—or at least appeared so at first sight—as the recent action of the French Trotskyites in giving up their independent existence and joining the Socialist Party. For have not the Trotskyites always paraded as the very "left" of the left, as the true-blue "Bolshevik Leninists"? Has not their fundamental criticism of the Communist International always been directed against the alleged Social-democratic or "right" deviations of the "Stalinists"? Have they not always affected a superior scorn for the Communist Opposition, the self-righteous scorn of simon-pure Communists for back-sliding opportunists "with one foot in the camp of Social-democracy." And now suddenly they turn right-about-face and land with both feet in that very camp. In France the handful of disciples of the "Master" have officially proclaimed their entry into the S. F. I. O. (French Socialist Party), not, of course, without another split and another inner crisis. In Czechoslovakia, they have done the same. In Great Britain, the Trotskyites had entered the left Socialist Independent Labor Party some months before. In the United States, they are now negotiating for unity with Muste's American Workers Party, a group somewhat similar in complexion to the I. L. P. And where, as in Belgium, the local Trotskyites have not yet taken the decisive step themselves, they are hastening to endorse the political conduct of their comrades in other lands.

About a year or so before this desperate act of political suicide, the Trotskyites had adopted a course which may seem directly opposed to the present relapse into reformism but was actually its precursor. In his customary pontifical manner, Trotsky had announced that the "Stalinist" Communist parties had gone the way of the old Socialist parties and the Communist International. A new "Fourth International," was the great political need of the day. And, very considerably, Trotsky hastened to supply the program for this Fourth International—the famous "eleven points" embodying the hallowed dogmas of the Trotskyist faith. How then was it possible for this same Trotsky, who had proclaimed the Fourth International because the Third had grown indistinguishable from the Second, to go bag and baggage over to this very Second International?

Trotskyist Reasons
For Capitulation

The arguments the Trotskyites offer in extenuation are hardly convincing, however glittering and pretentious they may be. Certainly they are hardly the arguments we have been accustomed to hear from Trotsky. Is it a justification for joining the Social-democracy that the Trotskyite Communist League is small and weak and cannot be effective in-

dependently? Was it not Trotsky who used to lecture us that the real strength of a revolutionary proletarian organization lies not in its numbers at any particular moment but in the thoroughly Marxist character of its program and policy? Was it not Trotsky who always lectured us on the absolute indispensability of political and organizational independence for any Communist organization claiming a revolutionary role? Was it not Trotsky who so savagely attacked the Communist International for alleged infractions of this inviolable principle at various stages of the Chinese revolution and in the episode of the Anglo-Soviet Unity Committee?

Or is it much of a justification to point to the undeniable menace of Fascism and the need for proletarian unity? Fascism was an even graver menace in Germany in 1932 but it never occurred to Trotsky to urge the German Communists or even his own followers to return to the Social-democracy. Proletarian unity against Fascism is to be obtained by unity of action on the basis of joint agreements and not by self-stirring attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable within the framework of one political organization. Or has Trotsky come to conclusion that his views and those of the Social democracy are, after all, not so irreconcilable?

But the C. P. and the S. P. are

forming a united front and we Trotskyites are excluded—the only way to get inside is to join the S. P. So runs the next line of justification. This argument is both unprincipled and impractical. To trade political principles for a place in the sun of the united front is a strange course to be advocated by the "uncompromising" and "intransigent" Trotsky. And like all "clever" and "practical" calculations, it missed the mark! If the Trotskyites represent a significant political force in the labor movement, not even the power of the omnipotent Stalin can keep them out of a united labor front; if they do not, their entry into the S. P. will avail them nothing!

A more sophisticated form of the same argument has been raised in the following form: The C. P. is soon going to merge with the S. P., so thoroughly opportunistic have the "Stalinists" become. If we do not get into the S. P. now, the door will be closed to us later and we will be left out in the cold! Note the beautiful consistency of our uncompromising principle! In their indignation over the (anticipated) political surrender of the "Stalinists," they proceed promptly to surrender themselves—and well in advance at that! This is a new lesson in revolutionary irreconcilability!

Not unconscious of the weakness of their defense, the Trotskyites bring out their main political justification: After all, the two organizations (C. P. and S. P.) are the same—they are both Centrist parties. Why not, therefore, join the more promising one, the more powerful one, the one guaranteeing the greater freedom of action—the S. P.? Apparently Trotsky has forgotten the lectures he once read to Urbahns and his friends on the fundamental distinction between "Centrism" as "Stalinism" and "Centrism" as "Socialism of the Otto Bauer or Paul Levi variety." To fail to recognize this basic distinction, Trotsky once told us, incapacitates one from playing any revolutionary role in present day politics. We can do no less than to recommend to the Trotsky of today his own words of yesterday!

The Pending Merger
With The A. W. P.

Here in the United States the Trotskyites are preparing to merge with the Musteites into a "new revolutionary party," which, however, will not be termed Communist. Were ever two tendencies further apart in tradition and tortured and abstract internationalism; on the other hand, a crude and narrow-visioned provincialism. On the one hand, a sterile dogmatic system and dead theory cut off from life; on the other, vulgar empiricism and an ingrained indifference to Marxism. For the Musteites, this curious political betrothal is no more than the most recent of a long and colorful series of hectic political adventures, ranging all the way from kowtowing before the conservative A. F. of L. officialdom in the interests of class collaboration to cooperating with the official Communist Party in the interests of dual unionism. For the Trotskyites, however, it constitutes the preparatory stage to their ultimate passage into the camp of reformist Socialism.

CPO Foresaw Logic
Of Trotskyist Road

However startling the new departure of Trotskyism may appear to be at first sight, it has not come altogether as a surprise to those who have eyes to see and minds to understand. Almost a year ago, the national committee of the American Communist Opposition officially declared in the resolutions submitted to its national conference (see the November 1, 1933 issue of the Workers Age, Discussion Supplement):

"A very significant phase of the present realignment of forces in the international labor movement is the transformation of Trotskyism from

a tendency in world Communism to the ideological focal point of a new international centrist concentrations."

And in its resolution adopted by the Plenum of the Communist Party (Opposition) on July 1, 1934, it is said:

"After the mortal blows dealt to reformism in Germany and Austria, Trotskyism became the most virulent source of a new centrist-reformist ideology. . . . The Trotskyites are developing the theory that the hope of the working class lies in the fictitious regeneration of the Social-democratic parties and in some cases are therefore preparing to go headlong into the S. P."

Thus on the basis of our own fundamentally correct analysis of the forces in the international labor movement, we were able to foretell a year in advance the ultimate political suicide of Trotskyism. Of course, when we made this forecast, we met with the most vigorous protestations of Communist virtue on the part of the Trotskyites and with the most virulent attacks upon us because of our "baseless slanders." Well, life itself has been the judge!

Why was it possible for us to warn in advance of where the Trotskyite road would lead? How are we to explain this new departure in the light of the whole history of Trotskyism?

The Sham of Trotskyist
Internationalism

Nothing about Trotskyism can be understood unless it is thoroughly grasped that the much vaunted "internationalism" of the Trotskyites is a fraud and a sham and that the various Trotskyist groups have never had any real or organic connection with class struggles in the countries in which they exist. International Trotskyism has always been the international extension of Russian Trotskyism and its program, methods and tactics show clear signs of their origin. The basic policies of the International Left Opposition are, in the last analysis, determined exclusively by the political course of Russian Trotskyism. Never was an alleged international movement more truly the tail-end of a Russian faction.

Collapse of
Russian Trotskyism

Up to 1933 Trotskyism at home and abroad lived in hope—in hope of an eventual failure of the First Five Year Plan and the bankruptcy of the entire Soviet economy. This was the speculation on which they staked all; Who does not remember the days, not so long ago, when half of The Militant was devoted to articles by Trotsky and Rakovsky on the "collapse of the Soviet economy." Hoping for a turn which would lift them to power in the C. P. U., the Russian Trotskyites indignantly denied the very idea that they were out to set up a rival Communist party or to challenge the Soviet regime; in other words, the Russian Trotskyites still regarded themselves as a mere faction of the official Communist movement and so, by the process of extension, did the Trotskyite groups outside of Russia. Indeed, they were pleased to parade as the only really Communist, the only really Leninist, wing of that movement and to express dark forebodings about the "new party" tendencies of the Brandlerites and Lovestones, by which they meant, of course, our independent activities in the labor movement. In their extreme anxiety to avoid any of this taint, they religiously abstained from any direct contact with the class struggle and prided themselves on their sterile existence as a small propaganda sect.

The Birth Of
The Fourth International

But towards the end of 1932 the whole situation changed. The success of the First Five Year Plan was definite and sure and all of the Trotskyite speculations on the catastrophe came to naught. The gambler had staked all and lost

(Continued on Page 7)

Labor Groups Score Fascism

by Herbert Dawn

European scenes were reenacted in New York on Friday, October 12, as working class groups affiliated to the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee faced fascist demonstrators in Columbus Circle and hurled their defiance and anger at Fascist publicity stunts in the United States. The occasion for this anti-Fascist protest demonstration was the projected ceremonies before the Columbus monument in the Circle, in which over 300 Italian students visiting the United States were to be welcomed by Governor Lehman and other "dignitaries." The ceremonies were held, but the youthful emissaries of Mussolini's propaganda machine failed to appear.

The Circle assumed the aspect of a battlefield, as the radical youth and adult organizations affiliated to the United Front Committee massed before a truck equipped with loud speakers, flaunting banners with the slogans, "Stamp Out Fascism," "Fascism Means Tyranny & War," hurled their indictment of Fascism across the Circle. Separated by a cordon of Police the Fascist camp clustered about the base of the Columbus monument brandished their heavy wooden canes and attempted to charge the anti-Fascist forces as the loud speakers blared the challenge to Fascism in more determined and eloquent fashion. No direct clash occurred. No doubt but the Fascist forces were disappointed at their inability to attack the radical youth forces who held their ground in disciplined fashion. Inflamed by the red banners, by the determined youthful contingents and the militant speeches in Italian and English, the American disciples of Mussolini could but vent their rage by cat-calls.

About 5000 anti-Fascist demonstrators who attended the rally heard Fascism, its American proponents, and the role of the Italian students assailed with fury. Speakers included: Hugo Oehler, Communist League; Sizemore, I. W. W.; Saul Held, Communist Party (Opposition); Gomberg, Young Peoples Socialist League, etc. The speeches of Oehler and Sizemore were marred by their "theoretical" tangents. Oehler insisted that a 4th International was a prerequisite for a successful fight against Fascism while Sizemore boosted the stock of his own

organization. Both theories seemed flat to the demonstrators who felt that such advice was out of order for the occasion. Comrade Saul Held, speaking for the CPO, declared in his address: "Our demonstration is a message of solidarity to the students and workers of Italy. The Italian students now visiting the United States are the emissaries of that small parasite class that has enslaved the whole Italian working class. We, young workers and students, who have seen the younger generation in many European countries tricked into the Fascist hell, because they were promised a glorious future of jobs and happiness, have witnessed more than 15 years of Fascist rule in Italy and over one year in Germany. We have seen this younger generation herded like beasts into concentration and work camps, while every vestige of science and culture has been destroyed for them. We here have learned valuable lessons through witnessing these events. We see millions of youngsters in the U. S. jobless and despondent, who will make fertile soil for Fascism unless we learn from the costly errors of our European brothers and strike unitedly against all Fascist propaganda and activities in America. In Europe, our organization was the very first to point the way for victorious working class action. After the advent of Hitler we began the organization of an illegal trade union movement and invited every anti-Fascist force, regardless of political tendency in the working class, to work with us in the common struggle. Such unity is today a fact. I am certain that its significance shall not be lost upon you, and the American workers shall succeed in destroying Fascist forces in America."

A stirring appeal was made by Joseph Lash of the Student I. L. O. who called for vigorous support in the fight to reinstate five students of New York University who incurred the wrath of President Robinson and his gang, because of their anti-Fascist activities. After many speeches both camps retired to Yankee Stadium and its vicinity.

YCL Sulk—
Cops Club

In the vicinity of Yankee Sta-

dium shortly after the Columbus Circle Demonstration, the Columbus Day United Demonstrators formed its marching line and paraded through the streets chanting anti-fascist slogans and singing revolutionary songs. But the Young Communist League was on the spot, too, and the two working class anti-fascist lines passed one another on the street as a furious exchange of invitations for "united front" wafted to and fro. Were it not for its tragic aspects one was sorely tempted to howl with laughter at its ludicrous aspects. Negotiations for unity were under way in the batting of an eye-lash, but the Young Communist League, long notorious for its "United Front" wallings stood sheepishly in opposition to permitting representatives of the CPO and Trotskyites to address a united demonstration—prisoners of their own untenable and damned uncomfortable political position. Since both groups of demonstrators found themselves too weak to break thru the police cordon surrounding Yankee Stadium they retired to an empty lot for more speeches. Here the League had the advantage—a truck with loudspeakers. Finally the United Front demonstrators retired to the 161st St. station overlooking Yankee Stadium and announced their presence to the Fascist audience within the park.

The Young Communist League, not to be outdone, and more astute publicity hounds, attempted a frontal attack on the police cordon which resulted in considerable skull clubbing. This saved the day for our politically dejected comrades, for the New York Times accredited them with a greater fighting spirit than the United Fronters.

The following organizations participated in the United Front demonstration:

American Workers Party, Socialist Party, Communist League, Communist Party (Opposition), I. M. W. Group, I. W. W., Italian Republican Party, Young Circle League, General Defense Committee, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Young Peoples Socialist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs, Communist Youth Opposition, I. Proletario Group, I. Martello Group.

Youth Labor Under the NRA Codes

Apprenticeship - A Menace to American Unionism

by Saul Held

Scrapping All Code Provisions

From the few facts cited above it is very clear as to the kind of cheap labor supply being created under the NRA. The codes contain innumerable loopholes which will enable employers to take full advantage of a golden opportunity. It is to be noted that wherever indentured apprenticeship programs are set up by an employer, all code restrictions are automatically discarded. On June 27th it was believed that the need for secrecy had passed and President Roosevelt issued an executive order, which disposes of all doubts on this matter. The order proscribes rules and regulations for the maximum hours of certain labor provisions of codes of fair competition which may affect apprentice training programs in industry, and the meat of it is contained in the following provisions:

"1. A person may be employed as an apprentice by any member of an industry subject to a Code of Fair Competition at a wage lower than the minimum wage or for any time in excess of the maximum hours of labor, established in such code, if such member shall have obtained from an agency to be designated or established by the Secretary of Labor, a certificate permitting such person to be employed in conformity with a training program approved by

such Agency, until and unless such certificate is revoked.

"2. The term 'Apprentice,' as used herein shall mean a person of at least 16 years of age who has entered into a written contract with an employer or an association of employers which provides for at least 2,000 hours of reasonably continuous employment for such person and his participation in an approved program of training as hereinabove provided.

"3. A Committee shall be established by the Secretary of Labor to advise such Secretary in the exercise of the powers herein conferred, and to perform such other functions as the Secretary may direct. Such Committee shall be composed of one or more representatives of the Office of Education, the National Recovery Administration, and the United States Department of Labor.

Nothing could be clearer! That which has stealthily been attempted in the Codes, is now brazenly sanctified in unequivocal terms. Aside from the desire of Big Business for the creation of such a slave system of apprenticeship, for reasons given above, there are several other factors, which spur on this campaign. First, "as population growth declines, the proportion of persons under the age of 20 decreases in relation to those over 20. There will be a rise in the proportion of those between 20 and 45, who are of the most effective working age" (Soule). Secondly

the great increases in speed-up under the NRA, the increased productivity per industrial unit. Increasing demand for youth labor due to speed-up and further technical innovation, and a labor market flooded with potential first line material to man the industrial plant. It is difficult, therefore, to envisage anything but an acceleration of the trends we observed in the last few decades.

What are the wider implications for labor? Another lever by which trade associations hope to pry unionism from the workers' tenacious grasp, thru the supplanting of older workers by younger ones, trained by the trade associations (sole guardians of the new apprenticeship programs) to be the ideal strikebreakers; the flooding of industry by youth labor that can be exploited without end. It will soon be seen that the beneficiaries of the "new apprenticeship" will be the big industries; it will soon be apparent that despite the social-worker sweetness of the advance publicity on this program, it is an objective for which Big Business has dreamed of and planned for many years.

Will the young men of the Civil Conservation Corp be drawn into industry too? Already the rumors multiply that the Administration contemplates taking such steps.

This new slave plan for youth is another "New Deal" menace to labor! Only if the trade unions abandon the out-moded and detrimental conceptions of apprenticeship and fight now for trade union control of apprenticeship can this newest Blue Eagle raid against labor be defeated.

When the NRA codes were being written by the "hard boiled business men," the ever-pressing need upon Big Business for a plentiful and very cheap supply of labor, as "jockies" for the "billion wild horses" of industry, was not forgotten. Many little windows in the code edifices were left wide open so that an abundant supply of youth labor could be stealthily smuggled into the industrial plant. But scarcely had the first year of the New Deal become history when that, which was attempted yesterday by stealth, was brazenly and openly sanctified by the Roosevelt Administration in the form of a national apprenticeship scheme.

"Apprenticeship Proposal Seeks Place in Industry For 100,000 Younger Workers" one newspaper informs us. And, Secretary "Ma" Perkins is busy scurrying about setting up state boards empowered to supervise the absorption of thousands of youngsters into industry. But what is behind this latest scheme, and how does it fit into the New Deal's larger pattern?

Seeking A New Supply of Cheap Labor

The industrial lessons of the past quarter century were not forgotten when Big Business sat down to write the codes. That great age-shifts had occurred in the industrial working force during this period, that the industrial population resembled a candle which was being burnt at both ends (the elimination of the very young and the old worker), and the causes underlying this process found frank acknowledgement in the codes. Thus it was recognized that,

child labor could no longer be utilized for highly mechanized industry because the industrial plant swifter mental reaction than could be found in adolescents; secondly, labor is to be found in that age-group possessing the essential labor specifications—the younger workers; thirdly, the abolition of child labor was but one blow in a series directed against small business.

Apprenticeship—The Key To The Problem

The honey moon period of the New Deal, when the Administration was selling itself as "pro-labor," occasioned the abolition of industrial child labor as a great "humanitarian" deed, while the carefully laid plans for creating a source of labor below code minimums remained unadvertised and the germs of which were buried deeply in the code provisions. But now, with labor on the defensive battling on the ancient ground of collective bargaining for unionism's very life, and the Blue Eagle's pretenses at being pro-labor being dropped like hot coals, the time was opportune for more efficient and less hidden action in line with creating this cheap supply of labor. A slave apprenticeship system is today being hurriedly created—a source of labor whose compensation shall be far below code minimums. Here are the pertinent facts in the case.

Even a cursory examination of the codes plainly indicates that industrial child labor is headed for oblivion:

MINIMUM AGE PROVISIONS IN 468 CODES (Summary)

	No. of Codes	% of Codes
1 Codes with 18-year minimum for all employment	15	3.2
2 Codes with upper limit of 18 and lower limit of 16	55	11.8
3 Codes with basic 16-year minimum, with unspecified occs. prohibited under 18 years	299	63.8
4 Codes with miscellaneous provisions higher than 16 years	10	2.1
5 Codes with 16-year minimum for all employment	80	17.1
6 Codes with exemptions allowing employment of children under 16	12	2.6

From the meagre information at hand all indications are that industrial child labor has been eliminated to a very large extent from the industries.

A Restful Haven for Open Shoppers

When it came to the problem of the older ranks of youth labor, that most precious section of the laboring force for big industry the plans were far less "humanitarian." Beginning with the Cotton Textile Code, we find that this code set no limit upon the number of workers who might be classed as learners or, the bottom wage which might be paid them. We discover that youngsters have worked for weeks as "learners" without getting a single penny in compensation. Courtenav Dinwiddie has reported that "Closely related to the learner provisions, are those establishing a lower wage rate for juvenile employees, usually defined in the codes as workers under 18. Such a wage differentiation, especially in industries where the work can be learned easily within a few weeks, tends to encourage the employment of low paid juvenile workers in place of more higher paid adults." (my emphasis—S. H.) The code for the iron and steel industry exempts learners from the minimum wage rate without any safeguards whatever. Examining the apprentice provisions in the codes we are struck by the excessively long periods specified in some codes for the apprenticeship period (photograving, plastering, etc.). Typical of such codes is the one for the Heating, Piping, and Air Conditioning. The training period is five years and the following percentages of a journeyman steam fitters wage are specified as the learners minimum wage:

First year32%
Second year36%

Third year48%
Fourth year51%

We are quite certain that five year periods are not essential for the acquisition of average skill in any particular trade. It is hardly to the credit of the American Federation of Labor, in this connection, that it retains its antiquated notions of apprenticeship, thus playing directly into the hands of the employers.

Employers have already utilized the absence of safeguards for learners and the menace of the "new apprenticeship" assumes concrete form. "Vocational School: Watched By Market," the Journal of Commerce of May 16th informs us. In the needlecraft industry many manufacturers in small communities find it difficult to secure numbers of trained operatives (sic) to run new machinery. Further:

"The growth of the vocational school for training factory operatives is the outgrowth of the denial by code authorities of exemptions for employing additional apprentices above duly regulated numbers. There has recently been a valid reason for adding to the total of learners below the status of regularly constituted apprentices. No provision has been made for this class of workers.

"In various towns and cities there has recently been noticeably increased activity to enlist the aid of local Government officials in increasing employment in those communities. The result is that schools have been started intended to break in young people to fit themselves for factory employment. They may or may not be paid for what they do, though the product their hands are engaged in making is intended for sale by those private employers that supply the raw materials for productions."

Being a member of the CP, and incidentally not of the Opposition, I should have liked to give my impressions and criticism of the Second U. S. Congress against War and Fascism, which I attended, in the official organ of my Party, the Daily Worker. But I am aware that the only thing the Daily would print on the Congress is an article telling that it was the broadest united front in history, not dominated by any group, with perfect harmony and unity of all elements in the historic struggle against war and fascism. I leave it to those who wish to lie, to distort facts and delude themselves, to write such articles and in this way hinder the formation of a real united front along a clear and acceptable minimum program. Therefore, wanting to give my true impressions and criticism of the Congress, I recognize that only the Workers' Age, of all working class papers, would print it, and use it, not to fight against communism, but as a weapon in the struggle for unity.

First of all, the united front was so broad that the Daily Worker could not find words to express it. But comrades, especially you who were at the Congress, you know what a fraud this is. It is doubtful if there were ten per cent of the delegates who were not members either of the Party, the Y. C. L., or the Party-controlled mass organizations. The tremendous applause every time the C. P. was mentioned, the ovations for Comrade Browder, were not signs of the strength of the Congress, but of the weakness. Here was shown the narrowness of the Congress. It is not enough for the credentials committee to report that there were 247 from Defense and Civil Rights Organizations and Civil Women's 434 from Fraternal organizations, etc. A true picture of the Congress's composition could only be gotten if the American League should publish the names of every organization that sent delegates, with the number from each. This they would not do, because we would see that the fraternal delegates, numbering 434, were composed of about 430 from the Aid Society, etc., from all different branches, languages, and cities.

The trade union delegation in-

by M.

cluded the vast number of 121 from A. F. of L. locals, and 6 from Railroad Brotherhoods. With the tremendous campaign that was carried on for this Congress, it is certainly indicative of the almost negligible influence of the Party in the A. F. of L. if only 121 delegates from the whole country could be gotten in a campaign against war and fascism.

When Donald Henderson, C.P. member, gave the report of the credentials committee, he pulled a piece of political chicanery by lying about the number of delegates from the CPO. After announcing 11 from the SP officially—at another time in the Congress we were told there were 4—105 from the CP as direct representatives, 4 from the Jewish Workers Party, he concluded by saying "and from the Communist Party Opposition one delegate." The audience laughed as they pictured a tiny impotent group sending a single person. This is what Henderson wanted. But what they did not know was that there were at least six delegates who had been registered and seated as officially representing branches of the CPO.

Before the Congress a fraction meeting of all Party members was held at the Workers' School of Chicago with Browder reporting. Of course, there was no discussion at all on the political line of the Communist fraction of the Congress. Most of his talk was taken up with what to do about the Lovestonites. He said that the Lovestonites, Trotskyites would not be present. He explained that the Lovestonites made any nominations, they would be killed by the nominating committee, and if they were made from the floor, the chairman would refer the nomination to the Nominating Committee of the Presidium. This is exactly what happened at the first session Saturday morning, and Dr. Harry Ward, the non-Party front of the Congress, did exactly as Browder said he would.

As for the Congress itself, one would have expected at least a clear definition of the meaning of Fascism, so that the American workers would be armed for the

struggle against it. Delegate after delegate, from the textile and the marine strike areas and from the South, got up and said, "We have complete and open Fascism in Rhode Island," or in San Francisco, or in New Orleans. Needless to say, Browder did not clarify them. The American League itself added to this confused and harmful idea that terror is synonymous with Fascism, by its literature. It was selling a pamphlet called "California's Brown Book" which is a detailed account of terror in California, starting with the definition that "Fascism is rule by violence and terror, in the interest of a minority to hold down the masses. Such terroristic rule as that now scourging Germany may seem far away, yet this fascism which stamps out every last vestige of civil rights, is now showing itself throughout America—with the State of California one of the areas of greatest intensity."

According to such a definition, then over 1,000 years before the dawn of this epoch Charlemagne was a Fascist although Fascism, we were told, is the last stand of the epoch of imperialism.

The delegates came from all over the country, and the Congress cost about 50,000 dollars, but it was nothing more than a grand and enthusiastic demonstration. The delegates had nothing to say in formulating the line of the Congress.

One thing that cannot be denied is the steam roller tactics that were used at the least sign of opposition to the Party line. This was shown especially at the Youth Congress, when an anarchist who said she represented a caucus of church groups and college clubs, objected to the support of the Soviet Union's inner policy. She was clamped down without discussion, and numerous YCLers objected to the procedure of the chairman, and voted against the wishes of their leaders in favor of giving her the right to speak.

The delegates left with the highest pitch of enthusiasm, convinced that they had established the united front that would stop war and defeat the fascists. And if a lot of applause and wild cheering could do so, then they would be right.

The American League Congress

THE NRA BOOSTS TRUSTIFICATION

The Roosevelt Program V.

by Jay Lovestone

A fierce debate has been raging amongst the highly-paid economists as to the effect of the NRA on the immediate economic situation.

No doubt the NRA has had some effect as an artificial stimulant. The Government has spent many hundreds of millions of dollars in a desperate effort to set in motion the wheels of production. In the main, however, the extent to which there has been a revival in this country must be registered as part of the general trend throughout the principal capitalistic countries within the last two years. The exact extent to which the New Deal's economic policies have stimulated revival in this country can not be measured accurately. Suffice it to say, that the claims of the Administration are ludicrous. Surely Roosevelt would have a hard time standing up to-day for the claims made by his Administration, one and a half years ago, that by April, 1934 there would be "a complete restoration of prosperity," and that the number of families on the relief rolls would be reduced from 3½ million to 400,000. To-day there are approximately 5 million families on the relief rolls.

As a matter of fact, some countries, without resorting to such systematic and energetic artificial stimuli as has the United States, have made as much headway, if not more, within the same period. It is significant that recent months have seen this trend towards revival checked on a world scale. From this reversal of trend, the United States has not been immune; quite the contrary is the case. Reversal of trend, downward, has recently been rather marked in the United States.

A few figures will clearly indicate this. From June to October, 1933, according to the A. F. of L. Executive Council, 2,290,000 were re-employed. On the other hand, from October, 1933 to June, 1934, only 100,000 were re-employed. In June, 1933, 450 went back to work, but in June, 1934, 425,000 were laid off. The Federal Reserve Board Index is about 23 per cent lower than that of a year ago. The summer slump was rather painful, the July decrease in employment and payrolls being the worst for any July since 1919. The Department of Commerce was forced to admit in its survey covering July and part of August that: "Contraction in business activity during July was in excess of the usual seasonal decline, and weekly data available for August indicates a continuation of the sagging tendency."

This accounts for the atmosphere of discouragement now prevailing in business circles, which were flushed with the rosiest optimism about a year ago.

Of course, the real test of the NRA even as an artificial, temporary stimulant is yet to come. The test will really come when the Government discontinues pouring vast sums of money into industry and agriculture, that is, the day when the Government suspends its heavy spending. Judging from what happened when the CWA was dropped, it is safe to say that were the Federal Government to suspend its spending program to-day, immediate conditions would be even worse. Naturally, such policies of subsidies, grants and contributions are no small burden to the Federal Treasury. For instance, Mr. Keynes has estimated that the Government must borrow for spending a minimum of \$400,000,000 a month to keep up revival at a pace that "will ultimately pay off borrowers."

In the long run, it must be emphasized that the effect of the economic policies of the New Deal only multiplies and aggravates the sources of the next crisis. Why?

More Rationalization — Less Workers

Let us first look into the problem of rationalization of industry. The NRA, in some of its codes, has, at least on paper, tried to discourage the introduction of new machinery and limit the rise in productive capacities, as in the textile industry. This effort of the NRA has already given and will continue to give the impression that the army of the unemployed is reduced. Even if the NRA were able thru these schemes to reduce the army of the unemployed by 5 or 6 million, the new sources of unemployment, now in the making, will serve to aggravate the situation. For instance, the extension of the "work-spreading" schemes to the field of distribution will not check this trend because of the lack of organization amongst the workers in these industries. A genuine shortening of hours is not conceivable without an effective labor organization fighting the enforcement of a shorter work week. It is sad, but true, that no significant trend towards unionism is at present apparent in department, variety, and general merchandising lines.

NRA Boosts Trustification

To-day, no one will dispute that the NRA has enhanced the trend towards monopoly in the United States. Many of the champions of the NRA have sort of looked upon monopoly as synonymous with "planned economy." The high-priests of the New Deal have raved consistently about the virtues of their planning as indicated in the great number of codes adopted. Actually, what we have had is not at all planned economy, which must be social in its basis to be genuine, but only a sort of Codified chaos. The Petroleum Code, for instance, had been considered in the heydays of the New Deal as a model code by the oil magnates. To-day, Mr. W. T. Holliday, of Cleveland, president of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, is compelled to tell the annual convention of the National Petroleum Association that the marketing code of the petroleum industry is "Breaking down of its own weight because of lack of enforcement. . . Pro-ration is like attempting flood control by building the dam at the bottom of the valley rather than seeking to control the head waters."

The Darrow report minced no words in emphasizing the role of the NRA in fostering the monopoly trend. Granting that the anti-trust laws, which were put on the ice by the NRA, did not effectively check the inexorable trend towards monopoly. However, the mere lifting of these provisions served as a source of great encouragement of trustification. Thus, Senator Borah, indefatigable champion of the American middle class in the United States, is prepared to put back on the statute books the Sherman anti-trust restraints lifted by the NRA. Over this there will be a serious conflict within the ranks of the employing class, as is evidenced by some of the latest court decisions. Federal Judge Marcus B. Campbell has held that the NRA represents a change in social theory and modifies the principles involved in the anti-trust laws. Said Judge Campbell:

"That theory applied by the Sherman Anti-Trust

Act was that competition would best preserve a free and orderly flow of interstate commerce, while by the Industrial Recovery Act that social theory has been modified by the provision of a system of supervised regulation of trade practices affecting interstate commerce."

That the poor are worse off despite the promises of minimum wage payments in certain industries, and that the very rich are better off, can be seen from the latest report of the Collector of Internal Revenue. Thus the reports for last March tax payments indicate the following: The taxes paid by persons with incomes of more than \$5,000 leaped from \$88,599,235 last year to \$109,766,752 this year. This is the trend as of March, 1934, in comparison with the corresponding period of 1933. The concentration of wealth is continuing under the New Deal at an accelerated pace. The general trend of income tax payments to-day is towards a decline in the number of small taxable incomes and a substantial increase in the individual taxable incomes of more than \$5,000, and an even bigger increase in corresponding earnings during 1933. This covers the first nine months of the New Deal. Within this time America has witnessed its most rapid concentration of wealth in the hands of the upper middle and uppermost layers of American society.

We must look beneath the income tax figures to see the trend a little more clearly. There are millions who are not getting enough to fall even within the lowest income tax bracket. In the first quarter of this year the statistical wage was supposed to have increased 7½ per cent. During this period food costs actually increased 16.7 per cent, and clothing and furnishings rose by 27.5 per cent. Contrast with these figures the following: The number of companies reporting deficits in the first half of this year decreased from 46 per cent of the total in 1933 to 24 per cent in 1934. Besides, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York recently declared that in its compilation of net profits for 407 industrial and mercantile corporations, the first six months of this year, indicate that they were five times those of the first half of 1933.

Still the employers, the big property owners, are not satisfied with even this swift tempo of concentration of ownership in the country. Mr. James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Germany, made a fervent plea the other day, for the investors of the country, advising the formation of a national organization for the purpose of assuring protection for security holders. He said in part: "They (American investors) are the target for every political experiment in every state in the Union and Congress. They are not given the slightest consideration at any time. They are treated contemptuously." Pursuing the same plea, Mr. Malcolm C. Rorty, president of the American Management Association, openly proposed to have cartels, trusts, immediately replace the NRA, and not wait for any more steps of regulation.

Said Mr. Rorty: "Such producers who chose to operate independent of the cartels would be required to pay a small tax, and any producer, whether a cartel member or not, would be penalized for cutting prices or for over-selling his quota as fixed by the cartel."

Thus America has traveled in its trust policies the following road: from feeble persecution to investigation, from investigation to instigation, and from instigation to open subsidization and organization by the Government.

Sectarianism Still Rules In American League Meet

The Second United States Congress Against War and Fascism has come and gone, leaving scarcely a dent on the mind of the American workers. To all observers, with the sole exception of the Daily Worker, the Congress was intent on but one primary function—the glorification of the Communist Party. The "non-partisan" character was farcically paraded in the form of gushing praise from "liberals" as to the leadership being supplied by the Communist Party in the fight against War and Fascism. As has been declared by us on many occasions, the American League Against War and Fascism from its very beginnings was predestined to be a tragic abortion. The sectarian character of the official Communist Party, inevitably became an organic feature of its child, the American League. From its very inception the League was painted a startling scarlet by the C.P., and an iron grip clamped on the League apparatus, killing at once the possibility of building a mass anti-war organization. Without trade unions, without the majority of working-class political parties, no genuine anti-war movement is conceivable.

Browder Lies In Face Savings

The sorry plight of the League in this connection was so glaring that it necessitated Comrade Earl

Browder making a speech in which he stooped to outright falsehoods. Declared this pundit of pap: "We have already seen a broader representation particularly representatives from a much larger number of trade unions, showing that the trade union movement is being drawn into the anti-war struggle." For the secretary of the Communist Party to brazenly utter such falsehoods is not accidental. The above declaration was not made so much to hoodwink the delegates, who knew who was represented, but as the publicity for the outside world. What unions were represented? Who represented them? This trifling matter has not been answered or publicized!

The Liberal Facade

What are the unvarnished facts regarding the 2nd Congress? Over 70% of the total number of delegates represented the Communist Party or one of its numerous disguises—I.W.O., I.L.D., T.U.U.L., and other purely alphabetical combinations. It was this body of representatives that confined every function and procedure of the Congress to the orders of the C.P. They came not to deliberate, to think and develop methods for creating a mass movement against the menace of war and Fascism, but rather to serve as a cheering

section. This of course is hardly enough for giving a "non-partisan" coloring to the Congress, so once again this coloring, this camouflage, was supplied by our well known liberal friends, Dr. Harry Ward, Roger Baldwin, etc. These prominent names were in their prime for this confab.

The functioning of the Presidium of the Congress upon which both the aforementioned were naturally prominent was unique. The chairman Ward, and especially Roger Baldwin, maneuvered in every conceivable fashion to prevent discussion of a "controversial" nature which would mar the "peace and harmony" of the Congress. Thus the CP held the Presidium in a vice-like grip to the edification of the party leaders and members.

Yes, comrade Hathaway spoke on the necessity of a United Front. He said, in dealing with the necessity of bringing about united action between "Communists and other groups": "But the Communist Party, with the full realization of these fundamental differences and of the need of clarifying these differences, believes that it is possible to establish and to maintain the united front of the American workers on the issue of war and fascism. . . But he really didn't mean it. And the politically unastute Dr. Ward let the cat out of the bag in the crudest fashion (the liberals are utilized for the dirty work). Speaking on "broadening the basis of the movement (the League)" he de-

Knitgoods Workers For Progressive Leadership

The membership meeting of the Joint Council of Knitgoods Workers Union, held on Thursday October 11, attended by over 2,000 workers, gave overwhelming support and endorsement of the policies of the Progressive Administration of the union of which Louis Nelson is general manager.

An unholy alliance between the remnants of the discredited former administration forces who had almost ruined the union and the so-called "rank and file group"

declared, "That means, of course, that we must broaden the basis of this movement politically, and that doesn't mean that this movement lives or dies because of its ability or failure to bring together the political groups."

Actually the Second Congress had a much narrower base than the first Congress. A few individuals from Y.M.C.A., Socialist leaders, etc., does not mean a wide mass base. There is only one road to a healthy mass movement against war and fascism: the reconstitution of the Congress on a new basis—the inclusion without discrimination of all workers' unions and political groups, and the end of the utilization of such a movement to eulogize the official Party.

whose dual union policy serves to divide and confuse the workers, failed in its attempt to disrupt the meeting. The membership voted to accept the report of the executive committee and of Manager Nelson.

In his report Louis Nelson discussed the attempts of the bosses' Association to break down union conditions in the mills, thru wage cuts, increased machine load, employment of non-union labor and even moving their shops away from New York City. The union took an aggressive and militant stand to combat the bosses. Stoppages and mill strikes have been called and in many cases have resulted in winning improved conditions.

In this work the union has confronted not only the opposition of the bosses but also the disruptive work of the dual union and its supporters. These elements urge the workers to disregard the union and "take things in their own hands." In the mills these same people fail to follow their own revolutionary advice and are always ready to compromise with the bosses. Nelson effectively exposed these "double dealers" and pointed out that their one and only aim is to destroy the union.

As a sign of solidarity with the rest of the labor movement, the union had donated \$100 to aid the recent National Textile Strike. The union is also raising \$1,000 as its share of the Anti-Fascist Fund of \$50,000 being raised by the I. L. G. W. The \$200 has already been raised and the remainder is being collected now.



BOOKS

THE AMERICAN FARMER AND THE EXPORT MARKET. By Austin A. Dowell and Oscar B. Jesness. University of Minnesota Press.

The thesis of the American Farmer and the Export Market is that we should secure our export market since we cannot reduce our agricultural output to domestic needs without a profound and undesirable reorganization of farming in the cotton, tobacco, corn and hog and wheat regions—undesirable because there is no employment available for the displaced farmers. A loss of the export market means in the case of cotton "eliminating half the acreage; in that of tobacco, one acre in three; of wheat, more than one acre in five on the basis of the average for the period (1920 to 1930) and slightly less than one acre in seven as late as 1930, when surpluses were piling up in the United States; of rice, over one acre in five; and of corn, over 14 percent of the acreage if we include in our calculation net exports of pork and lard as well as corn during this period, though the percentage was reduced to 9.2 in 1930.

But any measures tending to raise prices will also tend to make it impossible for our products to compete in the world market; and the AAA, if it succeeds in the program of restricting output and raising prices, will only take away more and more of the export markets. The authors of the book suggest that we keep our exports by lowering tariffs, allowing imports and restoring international trade. The unlikelihood of this happening is shown by the author's own remarks. About 90 percent of the total value of farm products is sold in the domestic market; only ten percent abroad. What are we to import? Possibly flaxseed and sugar; but it is admitted that if we imported all of our flaxseed and sugar very little change would result in the balance of trade.

The American Farmer and the Export Market is not a very useful book. It is written on the assumption that the years 1931 and 1932 were a nightmare, that presently workers will be employed again and the world come back to "normal." Consequently, its authors, basing their arguments on the period 1920-30, pay no serious attention to the trend toward smaller exports even in that period; nor do they heed the fact that in some products American farmers could not capture an enlarged market even at ruinously low prices.

Like most books on agriculture this one is not written for the farmer. It does not compare the situation of American farmers with that of other farmers producing the same things in the world market. There is no analysis of what standard of living an American corn-hog farmer, for example, can have if he sells in the world market. A farmer reading this book would conclude that he was going to be ruined if he kept the foreign market and unemployed if he lost it. But which is hotter in a given type of farming, the frying pan or the fire, he would not discover from these authors.

RACHEL HINSDALE

SHADOW OF THE PLANTATION by Charles S. Johnson. University of Chicago Press, 1934. \$2.50.

This book should be read by everyone interested in the Negro question. First, because of the factual material it contains; secondly, because it demonstrates that a science of "sociology" is precisely what the "sociologist" of the American university does not possess.

Dr. Johnson has adopted a telling method of rendering his data: by verbatim interviews he presents the case of Negro exploitation in the clearest light. But his assumptions and conclusions are for the most part weak and irrelevant. It may be uncharitable, but he must stand sponsor for the introductory chapter by Dr. Robert E. Park.

The theory of Dr. Park is, that

Trotsky's Road to Social Democracy

(Continued from Page 4)

all—even political honor! The capitulation of Rakovsky and other stalwarts showed how utterly bankrupt Trotskyism really was. The hope of "reforming" the C. P. S. U. was now gone. The party was dead as a Communist organization, Trotsky proclaimed. A new party had to be built in the Soviet Union, a party that would challenge the C. P. S. U. for the control of the Soviet state. Translated into German, French and English, this meant new parties and a new International. From the beginning it was perfectly clear that what Trotsky was aiming at was to create a base for the reconstitution of Russian Trotskyism as a new party. "The Left Opposition group in the U. S. S. R.," he wrote, "can develop into a new party only as a result of the successful formation and growth of a new International." This was born the "Fourth International" as the lever for the forma-

tion of a Trotskyist party in the Soviet Union!

The Road To Social-Democracy obviously unable to admit the true ("Russian") motivation of the new departure, Trotsky had recourse to his usual high-sounding phrases and superficial analogies. He charged that the Communist International had met its August 4, had "betrayed" the cause of the revolution in Germany. Behind this screen of extremely "revolutionary" indignation at the "Stalinities," he proceeded to take the first steps on the road back to Social-democracy, a journey he has just completed!

Trotsky was caught in the power of forces beyond his control, forces with an inexorable logic of their own. For, apart from reformist Socialism (the Second International) and revolutionary Socialism (the Third International) there can be no distinct and stable tendency in working class politics. No matter how utterly sincere may be the intentions of its sponsors, a Fourth International must, in the nature of the case, turn out to be a Second-and-a-Half (Centrist) International, must therefore, in the long run, be doomed to ultimate absorption in the main body of Social-democracy. These ideas, which Trotsky once expounded so clearly, he may now learn again thru his own experience!

The first approach to the "Fourth International" was the venture of a bloc between the International Left Opposition and the various split-off Centrist parties, groups and grouplets. Trotskyism assumed a new aspect. It became the ideological gathering point of contemporary Centrism. (See article "From 'Real Communism' to 'Real Democracy,'" in the Workers Age, January 1, 1934). It degenerated into outright Centrism whose vulgar character was hardly hidden by its sophisticated Marxist phraseology!

But this stage proved extremely unstable. The Centrist groups, curiously enough, showed little enthusiasm for the match and besides they were themselves not much of a base for a Fourth International. The very weakness of organized Centrism internationally made the first stage of Trotskyist degeneration very brief and short-lived indeed.

Trotsky "Unwinds The Film" Of World Communism

The next and latest stage has come as a natural outgrowth of the whole Fourth International orientation. The Communist International is dead politically, "consumed by the raging cancer of Stalinist National-Socialism." The only genuine Communist tendency, Trotskyism, is far too weak for itself to become the new and re-constituted Communist movement. The Centrist groups and parties have proved a broken reed upon which no reliance can be placed. What else is there left but to re-trace the course of the last fifteen years of political development, to turn back on the road that has ended in such a hopeless blind-alley? What else is there left but to return to Social-democracy with the hope of crystallizing a new revolutionary movement in the future. Such is the political logic that has driven Trotskyism back to Social-democracy. And behind it all is the "new party" in the Soviet Union!

I have deliberately stressed the errors of the author because it is impossible to find any merit in his understanding of the "tradition of the plantation system" that impedes the progress of the exploited Negro. The plantation system's tradition is responsible for the Negro's bondage today but Dr. Johnson has not yet discovered the economic content of the slave system or of the "tradition" that succeeded it. You cannot leave out the role of the master in slavery and the landlord in share cropping tenantry, and you cannot understand them except as exploiting classes. Once they are so understood, "a world-wide study of cotton farms and plantations" is not needed to lend universal validity to the facts already noted. Then the special conditions of exploitation of the Negro become apparent in their historic guise; the forces impeding the progress of the Negro cannot be hidden, and pseudo scientific terms like "cultural imperatives," weight of "tradition," "community traits" is seen as the chaff of "sociological" investigation.

M. C. STEWART

he remembers the solemn warnings he issued to the backsliders as to the inevitable consequences of their fatal step in returning to Social-democracy! It would be well for the Trotsky of today to ponder his own words of five years ago!

Trotskyism No Longer A Communist Tendency

But the last act has not yet been played. Once in the Social-democracy, the Trotskyites will rapidly pass over to the right. Their rabid anti-Bolshevism, disguised as anti-"Stalinism," together with their fanatical anti-Soviet bias will alienate the leftward moving elements in the Social-democracy and will drive the Trotskyites themselves straight into the arms of the extreme right. The pompous pseudo-Marxist phraseology will avail them nothing; the inner logic of their political orientation is decisive.

At any rate, the action of the Trotskyites has a certain hygienic, cleansing effect politically. The great game of "right and left" is at an end! The "left of the left" has now merged with the "right of the right." It is not out of the question that, from their proud position in the Social-democratic parties, the Trotskyites will still continue to hurl their outworn epithets of "opportunists" and "Centrists" at the Communist Opposition and the official Communist parties respectively. But no one will take them seriously any longer; least of all they themselves!

As a tendency in the world Communist movement Trotskyism is dead, consumed by the raging cancer of its own false political program and system; Whatever contact it will have with the Communist movement in the future, will be exclusively from the outside. And perhaps it is just as well for all concerned

But this stage proved extremely unstable. The Centrist groups, curiously enough, showed little enthusiasm for the match and besides they were themselves not much of a base for a Fourth International. The very weakness of organized Centrism internationally made the first stage of Trotskyist degeneration very brief and short-lived indeed.

Trotsky "Unwinds The Film" Of World Communism

The next and latest stage has come as a natural outgrowth of the whole Fourth International orientation. The Communist International is dead politically, "consumed by the raging cancer of Stalinist National-Socialism." The only genuine Communist tendency, Trotskyism, is far too weak for itself to become the new and re-constituted Communist movement. The Centrist groups and parties have proved a broken reed upon which no reliance can be placed. What else is there left but to re-trace the course of the last fifteen years of political development, to turn back on the road that has ended in such a hopeless blind-alley? What else is there left but to return to Social-democracy with the hope of crystallizing a new revolutionary movement in the future. Such is the political logic that has driven Trotskyism back to Social-democracy. And behind it all is the "new party" in the Soviet Union!

Trotsky once accused Stalin of unrolling the October film backward. Today he is himself trying to do the same with the film of World Communism. Back before 1919 this is the essence of the new orientation.

Who knows better than Trotsky that he is but re-enacting an old tragic-comedy? Surely he recalls his animated polemics with the old German ultra-lefts who carried out their own return to Social-democracy under the slogan of a "new Zimmerwald concentration." Surely he remembers with what earnest conviction he insisted that one simply could not brush aside the world-transforming results of the Russian Revolution, that one simply could not conjure the Communist International out of existence, no matter how much one may disagree with it! Surely

The Farmers and the AAA

by Agrarian

As a dirt farmer I wish to give a few facts concerning the mid-western farming situation and also urge a closer union between the farmers and the city laborers.

I have neither time, energy nor ability to explain the A.A.A. to a person unfamiliar with a farmers exact status but I can truthfully say, the only understanding necessary is that the already poor farmer is still being crowded while the wealthy farmer can exploit with increasing measure. A wealthy farmer very rarely signed up for the plan because he could withstand the depression up to this point but the poorer farmer is nearly forced to take all the benefit payments he could get, in spite of the fact that it might harm him more later. The irony of this is that the payments which we were supposed to receive in March are still a minus quantity as far as we are concerned. What recourse has an individual farmer against such violation of the pledge—(it really wasn't called a contract at the time of signing)? The answer to my question is obvious. None whatever. I know of several cases right in my immediate neighborhood and can get facts on many others in the country (and the number in the state is appalling) where farmers are losing their contracts entirely because they planted too many acres of corn when it was merely a misunderstanding. With the staff of well-paid leeches that were employed in the A.A.A. there could have been an individual instructor for each territory containing not too many farms.

When a farmer wishes for rain does he stop to think that he is not cooperating with the present administration? They have made the statement that the drought was a blessing.

Henry Wallace claims that no one will go hungry this winter. "Of course," he says, "Pork chops and T-Bone steaks will not be plentiful but with certain changes of diet there will be plenty of food for all." Let us all use liberal minded reasoning and ask ourselves how every one can have enough to eat this year, when there were thousands of people who went hungry last year. Using Wallace as authority: we had a surplus of food last year and we still operate under the same method of distribution. With all the destruction of food and curtailment of production (besides the drought), doesn't it seem barbarous to encourage a simplification of diet. We realize though that pork chops and T-Bones will be obtainable by Wallace and his ilk. Furthermore, they will not be classed as a luxury but a common necessity for his everyday existence.

The farmers and city laborers have appetites and desires of a very similar nature so, figuratively speaking, they are in the same boat, consequently when we see slanderous articles in the papers about one or the other let us discount them about 99 1/2 percent. When a labor union is out on a strike why not gather the cooperation and aid of the farmers. Likewise, when farmers are in trouble the city workers should be helpful and understanding. At the present time it would be an ideal point in this drama of strife for the farmers to practice this brotherly act and furnish the textile strikers with provisions.

This I feel is a rather feeble plea to the working class to become class conscious but if I could only transcribe my feelings into writing I could make more people feel the impending danger of the constant exploitation.

controversy, we have no part in it and are not responsible for the statements of the Gitlow group.

In view of the decision of the latter on August 23, 1934, to join the Socialist Party immediately, we regard it as dishonest policy and leading to confusion among the workers for them to use the name of the Organization Committee.

In the next Issue

17 YEARS OF SOVIET GROWTH

by Will Herberg

FIVE YEARS OF C.P.O. WORK

by Jay Lovestone

FIVE YEARS OF WORKERS AGE

by A. M.

DISCIPLINE AND DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

by Bertram D. Wolfe

STACHEL HOLDS THE FOAT

by Jim Cork

THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

by George F. Miles

and other articles

in the

NOVEMBER FIRST ISSUE

No Comment Necessary

The item below is taken from the current issue of "Labor Front" formerly Gitlow's paper but now being published by Fields who split from Gitlow over the question of joining the Socialist Party.

NOTICE

A statement has recently been issued by the Gitlow group attacking Lovestone on his statements as to the C.I.

Irrespective of the merits of this

Workers Age

Published Twice Monthly by the
Workers Age Pub. Assn., 51 West 14 Street, New York, N. Y.
Phone: GRamercy 5-8903
Organ of the National Council of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (OPPOSITION)
Subscription rates: Foreign \$1.50 a year, \$1.00 six months. 5 cents
a copy. Domestic \$1.25 a year, \$0.75 six months.

Vol. 3, No. 18.

October 15, 1934.

The Roosevelt Peace Plan

IT has been sometime since the ruling class of this country has had as crafty a spokesman as Roosevelt in the White House. But it appears to us that the last "fire-side message" of the President marks a point of departure, not only in his tactics, but also in his ability to "put it over" for Wall Street. For some time Wall Street has been getting the jitters because of the uncertainty pervading certain phases of the so-called Recovery Program. Anxious to maintain and to extend its gains, the most powerful group of financial and industrial magnates hastened to launch an offensive against the alleged radicalism of the Roosevelt administration. So effective was this offensive that the "Brain Trust" was sent reeling, the professors were sent bleeding, Moley was commissioned to wine and dine the big fellows privately, and Roosevelt rushed to assure his masters that he can be counted upon.

The latest message of the President was a message to Wall Street. It was a guarantee that nothing will be done that shouldn't be done—in the eyes of Wall Street. It reminded the financial overlords of the country how much they have gained under the NRA. Yet the very temper and manner of delivery of the message betrayed that the President himself sort of got the jitters and lost that aggressive confidence and buoyant spirit characterizing his first few months of the "New Order."

Insofar as labor is concerned directly, the message has significance in but one respect. We refer to the proposal for a truce between the capitalist and the working man. Roosevelt wants the worker to play ball with him; that is, to stop fighting for better conditions and the right to organize. Roosevelt wants the employer to play ball with him; that is, let the status quo remain. This means, let the wages, which are insufficient, continue; let the workers who are unorganized, remain unorganized; let the company unions which are financed by the employers and blessed by the Code Authorities continue to remain sacrosanct in the eyes of the great empire, in the eyes of the Chief Executive—Roosevelt. This is the sort of a truce that the lion makes with the lamb when they both get together and stay together.

The Roosevelt administration is, from the point of view of labor, not in a very fortunate, strategic position to-day. Even the most purblind can see clearly that the honeymoon days of the NRA are gone, and if not yet fully forgotten, the memories are increasingly less pleasant. The President himself, the medicine man of Wall Street politics, tho he still has considerable prestige amongst the great mass of the workers, is no longer anywhere nearly as popular as he was a year ago at this time. General Johnson was honorably discharged in order to save this fading nimbus around the capitol dome. The textile workers do not find the Rooseveltian statistics luscious or satiating. The automobile workers now know that Roosevelt, with the help of Green, dealt a smashing blow to their organization efforts some months ago. The steel workers have also learned to lose ever less love on their "friend" in the White House.

Clearly it is necessary for the chief New Dealer to look for a breathing spell; hence the proposal for a truce. However, let no one credit Roosevelt with originality in this piece of thread-bare strategy. Wilson tried it during the war when conditions were much more suitable for the success of such ventures. Even our engineering president, Hoover, tried to work this gag in 1929 when stocks went "the way of all flesh." Roosevelt really understands that the class struggle can not be legislated out of existence even on the installment basis of, let us say, ninety days. It is most encouraging to note that there has been no response to this Roosevelt plea; in fact, the White House itself is not following up this "no strike" plea with any vigor. It did not hit the target because there was no target to hit. In the steel, rubber, automobile, and textile industries, the workers will within a few months answer Roosevelt's plea in unmistakable terms.

Bitter struggles are on the order of the day in these industries. Let us keep one thing in mind. In the White House we have a slick foe and not a steady friend. The length and strength of the picket lines, the size and militancy of the unions, the determination and stick-to-it-iveness of the workers—these will decide the tide of battle. No help can be expected from the White House, the stock exchange, the Senate or House of Representatives, the brain trust, the code authorities and the statistical peddlers of the New Deal. Let the Roosevelt message be a reminder. Let the Roosevelt "no strike" plea be a warning. Big fights are ahead. The preparations must be launched immediately. The efforts to secure victory must be redoubled.

Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

IT is again necessary to say a few words about Paterson. A most difficult situation faces the workers there. Stimulated by the open shop leaders among the manufacturers and encouraged by the do-nothing policy of the Winant Board, a union busting campaign is under full swing. Not only did the Paterson bosses refuse to recognize the agreement, which they consider as abrogated by the strike, but they have also begun to cut wages and rob the workers of other hard fought gains. Many hundreds of workers

are out on strike and, so serious is the situation, that in a telegram to the A. F. of L. convention, Eli Keller, the head of the union in Paterson, has called upon Green to authorize the calling of a general strike in the silk industry.

Under such circumstances what is the attitude of the Communist Party supporters? One would expect that these would be in the forefront of the fight, helping to maintain the morale of the workers, helping to beat back this offensive of the workers, but such is not yet. In the forefront they

certainly are but in causing demoralization, weakening the union, and thus doing yeomen service for the open shoppers.

Paterson has become a concentration point for all of the party's trade union brain trust. Jay Kubin, Ann Buriak and even the mighty Hathaway have descended upon Paterson, like vultures, in an effort to pick the bones clean. Under their excellent tutelage union meetings are broken up, fist fights started and the normal functioning of the union destroyed. This at a time when the greatest solidarity is needed. It is also not unimportant to mention that at the very tail end of this anti-union parade are the handful of discredited Trotskyites and Mustekites.

It is with such tactics that the Communist Party desires to show the textile workers "how strikes can be won."

IN the previous issue we called attention to a new effort of the C.P. to launch a dual union among the miners. Not having seen any violent denials we proceeded to another case.

All class conscious workers were stirred by the militant effort of the rank and file workers to take control of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Tin Workers. The militant stand of the delegation while in Washington, and the sharp words addressed to President Roosevelt, indicated a healthy spirit among the membership. Now, a sane progressive trade unionist would come to the conclusion that further progress depends on cultivating and developing this movement, but not the C.P. members, afflicted with the scourge known as the "left" madness.

We learn, on excellent authority, that a number of secret conferences have already been held with the aim of splitting the Amalgamated Association and setting up a new industrial union. Considering the steel industry's bitter hostility to recognition of unionism in general, the present effort to split the workers ranks is sheer idiocy and is against the best interests of the workers. The reactionary leadership must be fought inside the union not assisted by taking the militant workers out of the union. Splits strengthen the bureaucracy and weaken the unions.

EVERY brass button in the Labor Department and in the NRA apparatus has been running around with a sheaf of documents telling whomever it may concern that this is not the biggest strike wave we ever had. Well, maybe it isn't but it's a pretty good strike wave anyway and its not over by a long shot. And speaking of strike waves we must consider one factor which never existed in any previous upheavals in the industrial life of our country. I refer to the direct intervention of the government, thru the NRA or thru Presidential "influence," which has throttled numerous strikes before they even got under way or cut short the duration of strikes by ordering workers back to work pending endless investigations. An examination of some statistics will enlighten us on this point. (All figures taken from Monthly Labor Review, United States Department of Labor.)

When we compare the time lost thru labor disputes in 1928 (a year of unparalleled "prosperity") with the same figures for 1933 (the first year of NRA) we are inclined to write down 1933 as a year in which labor showed less strike activity than in 1928, for the figures show 31,556,947 days lost in 1928 as against only 14,818,847 in 1933. But these figures present a distorted picture, for actually 1933 showed a tremendous increase in the number of workers involved in strikes—812,137 as against only 357,145. The key to this apparent contradiction is the strike breaking role of NRA, which during the first year of its life, cut down the number of days lost per striker from 88.3 in 1928 to 18.2 in 1933.

There are certain indications however of a beginning of realization that NRA has been prolific only in the production of Boards which hog-tie the workers and snatch victory from their grasp. Witness the delegation of steel

Workers Age to Appear As Weekly on January 1

THE NEW WEEKLY WORKERS AGE

The Age will begin its appearance as a weekly on January 1. It will be a four-page, large-sized sheet, containing such new features as a current events column by Jay Lovestone, a book review column by Bert Wolfe, international news by Brandler and Thalheimer, weekly cartoons and drawings made especially for the Age and many other features to be announced. The price will be \$1.50 for a year, 75 cents for a half year.

The prospect of a weekly Age gives increased significance to the drive for one thousand new subscribers by January 1st.

During the drive period only, a free copy of Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism will be given with each subscription while sub-getters will receive Rivera's "Portrait of America" for twelve subscriptions and a combination of a framed portrait of Lenin and a copy of "Left Wing" Communism for securing six subs.

The quotas assigned for units of the CPO are still in force for the weekly Age Drive. But units and members have a new and added incentive—to "Build the Age for Unity," to build toward an improved, more widely-circulated, weekly Age.

Many units, and individual comrades have brought in Greetings to the Fifth Anniversary issue of the Age. The deadline on these greetings is October 25—see that they get in by then.

UNITS PLAN MEETINGS TO BUILD FOR COMMUNIST UNITY

The recruiting drive of the CPO to bring 500 new workers into our struggle for Communist unity opened October 15.

A few of the plans made by the units to publicize the practical work and tactics of the group include bi-weekly forums to be organized in the Bronx and Brownsville sections of New York, two open educational meetings in Boston with comrade I. Zimmerman speaking, a series of meetings in Montreal, Chicago and other centers.

The two most popular subjects at the moment are the New Turn in the Comintern and the estimate of the A. F. of L. convention.

The drive opened in New York with a mass-meeting at Stuyvesant Casino with Comrade Lovestone speaking on the New Turn. Several new members were recruited at this meeting with many more signifying their intention of taking classes at the New Workers School.

We want 1000 new Subs by 1934

A GIFT COPY OF LENIN'S "LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM
The classic of revolutionary strategy in the CPO's own edition
awaits each new subscriber to the New Weekly Age
\$1.50 a year 75 cents for 6 months
BUILD THE WEEKLY AGE FOR UNITY!

WORKERS AGE
51 West 14th Street
New York City

Please enter my sub to the Weekly Age for.....

Name

Address

City State

JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY (Opposition)

COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)
51 West 14th Street
New York City

I am interested in the work and tactics of the CPO. Please send me additional information.

Name

Address

City State

workers in Washington which told President Roosevelt that NRA to them is the initials for National Run-Around. The first seven months of the current year show indications that this attitude, not sweeping the country yet, is growing.

The number of workers involved in strikes from January to the end of July 1934 was 690,767 as compared to 293,600 for the same period in 1933, an increase of over 163%. What is even more important, the duration of the strikes increased from 4,012,065 man days lost in the first seven months of 1933 to 11,646,930 for the same period in 1934 or an increase of over 190%. The average days lost per striker increased from 13.6 to 16.8. Despite the most strenuous efforts of NRA, aided by the trade union bureaucrats who are always ready to capitulate rather than fight, (textile strike) strikes are increasing both in volume and duration.

It is to be expected that the strike wave for the full year of 1934 will far exceed that of 1933. It must be remembered that the figures given above do not include the general textile strike. It is also quite probable that the first reports of the textile boards will set off a new series of textile strikes. Already the silk workers are making demands upon the A. F. of L. for a general silk strike.

Let the cheerio boys in Washington gloat over the fact that it is not the greatest strike wave, as long as union recognition remains a burning issue for American trade unionism, as long as the cost of the economic crisis continues to weigh down the laboring masses, as long as wages continue to lag behind the rising cost of living, just so long will the strike wave continue to mount.